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# The German Tribune

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## Nato conference links MBFR with Berlin talks

Nato's primary dimension as a military organisation won't friends as well as making some enemies in the early days. For the one group it was exclusively a defence organisation aiming to preserve the equilibrium between the military blocs.

For the other group the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was a capitalist instrument of aggression under the aegis of the United States.

The closer the Alliance came to maturity, the greater its discrimination became. We can only guess at how much effect universal criticism of the consequences and costs of this system of threats had in bringing about the changes that came.

At any rate Nato no longer put all its eggs in the military deterrent basket, but began to move into a second dimension, the political dimension of conciliation and détente.

This struck the opponents of Nato dumb for a while and also irritated some of the organisation's protagonists greatly.

One West German *Lexikon der Politik* dated back in 1967 that at the discussions on Nato reform the paradoxical suggestion had been put forward that it should be made an instrument of appeasement.

And former Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss still believes today that an analysis of the military situation in Europe shows that "the preservation of security in peace and liberty requires

more expensive and from the military and technological point of view "better", that is to say their killing power is increasing, but their power to keep the peace is not! The technology of warfare does not automatically stabilise itself, of course.

On the contrary, at the highest levels of nuclear deterrent between the superpowers, for example, there are new rocket systems, no matter whether defensive or offensive, threatening the ability of the opponent to strike back and hence the carefully balanced nuclear scales.

Recognising the validity of both these arguments, the technological and the financial, Moscow and Washington agreed to embark on talks to limit the scope of rocket warfare, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

It is quite a natural and logical parallel that in the short or long-term something similar must happen on the level of conventional warfare, especially as the idea of a balanced mutual reduction of troop strength in Europe is not exactly new.

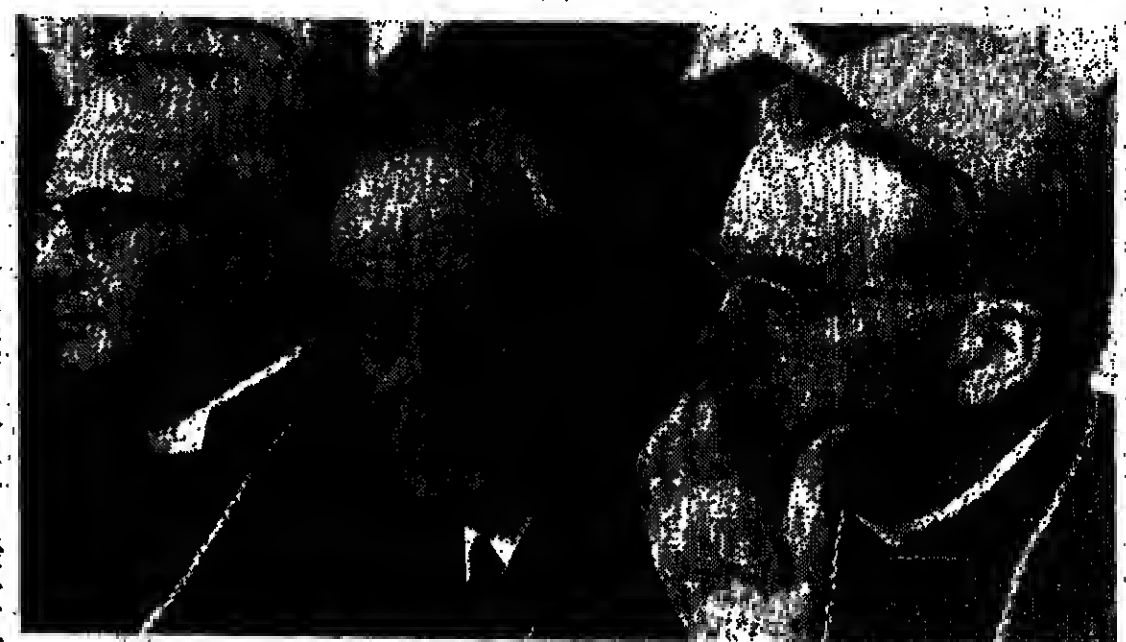
But some confusion reigned in Nato when Moscow sent its recent so-called signal from Tiflis in answer to Nato's Reykjavik, Brussels and Rome proposals dating from between 1968 and 1970, which seemed to be worth looking into at least.

What reply have the Allies now come up with at their spring conference in Lisbon to the Soviet proposal that they should taste the wine of MBFR (Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction)?

Soviet diplomats are uncommonly active at the moment compared with their counterparts in the West. The Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Gennady Gerasimov was in London last weekend following visits to Copenhagen.

His main topic of conversation was this time the complexities of troop withdrawals and security conferences. Thus he was talking on precisely the same points as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation meeting in Lisbon in the latter half of the previous week.

From this point of view Tatar's journey seems to have come too late. If he intended to encourage the individual Nato countries to take their own stand on these matters, the Alliance as a whole precluded this possibility. In the meantime, the cost of armaments rises in the West, the cost of armaments rises in the East, the cost of armaments rises in the East, the cost of armaments rises in the East.



## Ecumenical conference

Willem Visser 't Hooft (centre), honorary president of the World Council of Churches, was present at the ecumenical conference held in Augsburg. Julius Cardinal Döpfner (right) and Hermann Dietzfelbinger, president of the Protestant Church in the Federal Republic also attended. (Foto: AP)

Nato said an unequivocal yes, but has hesitated to specify how seriously it meant it, and said it out with a politically calculated but as rider. This reservation concerns a satisfactory solution of the Berlin Question which, it is hoped, will come before the end of the year and which could clear the way for a pan-European security conference. Thus all eyes are on Berlin.

On the question of MBFR, there has been a hiatus on the political scene but no lack of activity in diplomatic quarters. A kind of graded plan has been devised with the immediate task of soundings out Moscow's notions on a multilateral basis. Later, on proper scouts will be named to carry out this work.

Being their calculations on the intelligence work of these scouts a conference of deputy foreign ministers will convene in the autumn to map out the way ahead for the route march, before the Nato winter conference in Brussels is able to make a politically decisive step.

All eyes will still be on Berlin and hopes will be pinned on similarly cautious cooperation on the part of Moscow. This schedule is not surprising, but it is sound.

Moscow should not rebuff the Lisbon communiqué. The Nato ministers were careful to welcome the treaty restricting the use of the seabed for military purposes as a "significant step forwards" and praised the Soviet Union for acceding to the Geneva Disarmament Conference on the question of banning bacteriological and chemical weapons.

Moreover their concern at the growth of the Soviet Mediterranean Fleet is expressed in remarkably mild terms.

They have given far more attention to the third dimension of the alliance, protection of the environment, pointing to a (for distant) future when military problems may pale into insignificance compared with the pollution of the world around us.

Christian Poltyka  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 June 1971)

## Bonn's detente policy important for Nato, according to Scheel

negotiations leading to a lasting reduction of tension in Europe.

General appeals for maintaining and strengthening the present position are no longer sufficient. The only people who are likely to regret this are those who feel that status quo, or perhaps paralysis, is the highest form of international relationship particularly with regard to relations between blocs of allies.

The Nato partners have forged a close link between a settlement of the Berlin question and the preparations for a European security conference. The one should only be possible after the other and the Nato allies have supported Walter

Scheel, the Bonn Foreign Minister, in his hopes for a settlement on Berlin by the end of the year.

There is not much of a close link between Berlin and the talks on a balanced mutual reduction of troop strength. Following Nato's pressure to have this theme discussed and now that the prospect of talks on this matter has become such an important element in President Nixon's arguments with the Senate, a certain amount of room for manoeuvre must be granted. These talks would be a trial of patience. The talks that have been going on for years on a limitation of strategic arms would be a short apprenticeship by comparison.

Are Brezhnev and Korygin really ready to make concessions? Are they really considering reducing the number of troops in their satellite countries? Can they risk it in the light of the efforts being made by the satellites to obtain more freedom? The West must have at

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## ■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Kremlin heeds Berlin talks and ratification link

Hardly a day passes but some member of the Bonn government or an opposition spokesman mentions the problem of a link between Four-Power agreement on Berlin and ratification of the treaty with Moscow.

Moscow has less to say for itself. The Kremlin has come to terms with the fact that the Moscow Treaty only stands a chance of ratification in conjunction with a Berlin settlement.

The Soviet Union would like to reach agreement on Berlin. It has come to realise that an agreement would benefit Soviet aims in Europe.

These aims consist first of long-term stabilisation of the status quo, second of reducing America's influence on its Western European allies and third of utilising the industrial, scientific and technological potential of Western Europe by means of favourable trade agreements so as to help solve domestic difficulties.

Agreement on Berlin, it is hoped, will have the required detente effect and lay the political groundwork for further developments.

The Soviet leaders have learnt the lesson of Nikita Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum: that massive pressure brought to bear on Berlin serves only to consolidate NATO when it is a matter of the West's fundamental position in the divided city.

This is why major Berlin crises have been avoided in recent years. Periodic interference with this country's links with Berlin have been tactical in intent, serving solely to underline the Soviet legal view that West Berlin is not, politically, a part of the Federal Republic.

This would remain the case even if agreement were not to be reached on Berlin but the USSR, unlike Bonn, does not view a Berlin settlement primarily in terms of ratification of the Moscow Treaty.

Moscow does, of course, consider ratification of the Treaty with this country to be desirable but the signatures already appended to the document are felt to be the crux of the matter.

Even assuming it is not ratified the Treaty as it now stands and viewed from Moscow's angle has already either attained or brought closer fundamental Soviet policy aims.

Take, for instance, the position as it stood from about mid-1969 when Moscow started to show an interest in talks with Bonn. Difficulties in Poland and Czechoslovakia were the order of the day and the contours of possible interplay between Bonn and Peking had already been outlined.

What is more, there were tendencies in the GDR to attach greater importance to domestic considerations in trade agreements with the Soviet Union.

The Moscow Treaty has already played a part in progress towards consolidation of the Eastern Bloc in the Soviet sense of the term. The selective Eastern policy of the Kiesinger and Schröder period has been shelved and there is no longer any mention of active contacts with China.

The GDR, not a little worried by the rapprochement between Bonn and Moscow, has also concluded new trade agreements with the Soviet Union that could not have been better as far as Moscow is concerned.

It is easy to visualise how Bonn, say, would have reacted to American wishes of this kind if Washington had made approaches to East Berlin similar to those made by Russia to Bonn last year.

Against the background of overall political developments since August 1970 the GDR has gone so far as to intensify integration with the Soviet Union and Rumania too has undeniably back-pedalled on a number of issues.

The ratification issue is accordingly a feeble motive for the Soviet Union to show willing over Berlin.

It now looks by no means out of the question that the United States might prove the sole beneficiary of Bonn's concessions under the terms of the Moscow Treaty.

Viewed from Moscow it cannot matter much to America how great Bonn's political presence in Berlin will in future be. The West may be lending Bonn's demands in this respect every support but Moscow may well feel that this is largely because the Western powers are not sure what consequences for their own position might ensue from the Moscow Treaty.

They are tending to soft-pedal the Berlin talks in order to postpone ratification of the Moscow Treaty and so continue to play a part in determining the tempo of rapprochement between Bonn and Moscow.

Repeated pointers by President Nixon to the effect that all major problems on which the United States and Russia differ are interlinked to fit this picture.

Tolerable agreement on Berlin as regards the West's fundamental demands may be reached but there can be no question of the Soviet Union agreeing in a Berlin settlement to the status quo as regards Bonn's political presence in the divided city. The 1964 treaty between Moscow and the GDR lays emphasis on West Berlin's special political status.

It is, on the other hand, possible that the Soviet Union might agree to certain American wishes in solving other problems, the Salt talks, for instance.

West Berlin's de facto ties with the Federal Republic, including legislation, the arts, trade and travel, could, however, be guaranteed by means of a technical agreement involving the GDR.

Heinz Lathé  
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 2 June 1971)

## Cairo-Moscow treaty confirms long-accepted facts

Soviet President Podgorny's Cairo visit turned out not to be as unofficial as was officially made out to be the case in the Egyptian capital.

In addition to the usual pomp and circumstance Presidents Podgorny and Sadat signed — after a bare day and a half of talks — a comprehensive and detailed treaty of friendship and cooperation. The treaty, which the Soviet leader had brought with him, has twelve clauses and was signed for an initial fifteen years.

There was, so it transpired, nothing unofficial about President Podgorny's visit to Cairo — and precious little cordiality either.

Indeed, following US Secretary of State William Rogers' visit and President Sadat's coup ousting his left-wing rivals the visit by Moscow's Middle East specialist was overdue.

He had to make sure that President Sadat intended continuing to play ball with the Soviet Union, in home affairs too, and he needed it in writing.

He got both. The Egyptian leader may be keen on gaining elbow-room but he continues to be dependent on Moscow's support.

Has Egypt developed into a kind of Arab Czechoslovakia? Could there be a rerun of Prague in Cairo, with a Soviet invasion of the Nile Delta in the event of President Sadat one day not playing ball and trying to reach agreement with the Americans?

Pessimists who feel this and similar forecasts to be justified have already made their voices heard. There were, for that matter, fantasy-mongers who fore-

cast an Egyptian volte face following Secretary of State Rogers' visit to Egyptian capital. Both are equally taken.

Following President Podgorny's visitations with his Egyptian counterpart still unclear how much leeway Egypt retained. Is President Sadat in a position to make more concessions than he already does so in his offer to negotiate with Israel?

Have the Soviet leaders allowed to free hand to proceed with his liberalisation policy at home even in the face of opposition by the Moscow-orientated wing Nasserites? Even after the conclusion of the new treaty one can but assume.

Two points would, however, seem clear:

1. President Sadat is trying to pursue policy of neutrality rather than that of playing off one major power against the other. All that Mr Rogers could give him was the assurance that Washington continues to oppose major territorial changes and refuses to sanction its over of territory occupied during the Arab-Israeli war.

The American Secretary of State unable to promise the Egyptian that Washington would bring pressure to bear on Israel to accept this Cairo is accordingly more dependent ever on the other great power that position to exert pressure, the Soviet Union.

2. Nearly everything to which the Treaty has given the official approval has been an accepted fact some time. There are Soviet supplies, Soviet military advisers, economic aid, consultation and coordination.

This is a far cry from the unilateral Egyptian attitude of total veto on agreements that run counter to Moscow's Middle East policy.

Facts that have been such long have merely been formally codified. Not for nothing has the Soviet Union far given Egypt roughly 7,000 million Marks of military aid and 2,000 million Marks of economic assistance. It is enormous and unique investment and is safeguarded in black and white.

But paper is patient, especially in the Orient. Political practice shows that what the price is and whether it is to its promise.

One point has been made clear by the treaty and the response to it in the East (calls for a similar agreement with the United States). A solution to the East problem is not merely a matter of the countries immediately concerned. The great powers have played their part and unless the indications are to the contrary this part has increased from one to the next.

Dietrich Strohm  
(Die Zeit, 4 June 1971)

## Bonn's policy

Continued from page 1

least an outline of what goes on before negotiations are feasible.

Nevertheless the progress that has been made between the East and West in the last three years is impressive. Talks are in progress in the Berlin Question and the next Four-Power talks take place on 7 June. The SALT talks are going on and have received a new impetus in the past two weeks. Contacts have been made preparatory to a European security conference. And according to all predictions there will soon be negotiations on troop reductions. The latest initials are MBFR (Mutual Balanced Force Reduction).

In the midst of this general activity Bonn's Ostpolitik has its part to play. It fits into this framework. In this respect Foreign Minister Walter Scheel was not just using flowery language when he stated after the Lisbon Conference that Bonn's detente policy was a central factor in the Western alliance.

Heinz Lathé  
(Handelsblatt, 7 June 1971)

least an outline of what goes on before negotiations are feasible.

It is doubtful now whether the motion lasting on a two-thirds majority would now gain majority acceptance. Does this represent a failure for the United States after two decades of insistence on this very point? It would be more accurate to speak of a success for China, a success scored as a result of a normal international outlook (in comparison with Peking's attitude to the outside world during the cultural revolution).

Even the United States might benefit from developments. But before a Peking representative takes his seat in the UN building in New York some solution must be found to the rivalry between the two Chinas, each claiming the sole right to represent the Chinese people and each claiming the other's territory.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 3 June 1971)

## Two Chinas rivalry must be resolved

The American tenet that Chinese membership is a major issue requiring a two-thirds majority was again easily confirmed but for the first time the membership vote resulted in a small absolute majority (of two) in Peking's favour. Since a two-thirds majority was needed there were, of course, no legal consequences.

But the moral and political success this breakthrough represented in the face of years of pressure brought to bear by Washington have meanwhile not been without effect. At the same time Peking itself has increasingly enlarged from its isolation. The established diplomatic ties

At a recent press conference President Nixon dealt, among other topics, with China. His announcement that following studies and talks with Nationalist China and other countries a decision was to be taken in about six weeks' time on the tactics to be adopted by the United States in respect of Communist China at the next UN General Assembly, served merely to confirm that developments are progressing at a relatively rapid rate — regardless of the President's warning note to the effect that normalisation of relations was still a long way ahead.

The significant change mentioned by the President in respect of UN members' attitudes towards Peking did indeed come to light at the last General Assembly in November 1970 when the traditional veto of mainland Chinese membership of the world body was dealt with in the customary manner.

## ■ POLITICS

## Mid-term political landscape remains dull and uninteresting

Rarely is there still a good relationship between the electorate and those for whom they voted when it comes to mid-term in the legislative period. This is the time when the gap between what was expected of the government, what they promised, and what has actually transpired is opened up to its fullest.

This procedure is repeated in all countries which enjoy free elections, no matter what party has come to the fore. It is particularly easy to sense this when, as in September 1969, the leadership of the government is passed on to a party that has sat on the opposition benches for seventeen years, and then had to go through a kind of trial period to prove its worth as a junior partner in a setup such as the Grand Coalition.

Looking back over the past eighteen months we see that changes more clearly expressed in terms of personnel and atmosphere, rather than in concrete, tangible facts.

There are many reasons for this. The Social Democrat party has become more sensitive. It jumps back like a scalded child now when it runs into opposition on proposed reforms, whether the opposition comes from its Free Democrat partners or from the Churches and other vested interest groups.

It is obviously much easier to go on pushing a truck along the same old tracks than to lift it off the rails. The result is that the SPD has in some ways bitten off more than it can chew and is having to take unpopular measures.

This is something that must be a cause of concern for the Party and its acolytes, but not for the man-in-the-street who looks on with interest and watches the Opposition etching out the safety net waiting for the government to make a slip on the tightrope. He knows that the machinery of democracy is running smoothly.

However, trapeze artist Karl Schiller is performing his set pieces, currency and economic stability, and Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel are showing off their double act, walking the Ostpolitik tightrope, without even a safety net.

For the Opposition, around which so much revolves but which has so few chances of inspiration, should perform the task of providing a constant alternative to the government of the day, but at the present moment it is not doing so.

Of course the difficulties the Opposition is going through, not having a candidate for the Chancellery, would vanish in a trice if the Cabinet lost its majority in the Bundestag. But no one today believes that the government will fall apart at the seams as seemed likely at the time of the Mende crisis.

So now the CDU and CSU cannot sit back and hope that the SPD and FDP have enough rope to hang themselves and leave the Opposition's problems; they must take steps to solve these problems themselves.

Even if the CDU/CSU party-political preference to be held this coming October in Saarbrücken succeeds in electing a leader for the party and a candidate for Pöhl's Schönbach, while the vanquished escape from the Saar capital without too many scars, it will still not mean that the Opposition has anything different or better to offer in the way of foreign and economic policies than the government.

If the electorate were more concerned about political personalities than political positions when making up its mind in popularity polls than we would have a clearer idea of the kind of changes the CDU/CSU would make if they could. They must be well aware that however

long a Social Democrat remains Chancellor they cannot take up again where Kiesinger and Erhard left off.

However difficult it may be to see what the Union parties are up to, it is ten times as difficult to understand the motives of the Free Democrats. They are like a small band of castaways on a desert island whose sole hope is one signal rocket. They will fire this into the sky and hope that a rescue comes. Secretary-General Karl-Hermann Flach is trying to collect together divergent forces.

But who is going to explain to the middle-classes for instance why they should vote liberal again at the next provincial assembly elections in April 1972 although the Hamburg state committee of the FDP recently came out in favour of worker participation in management on a basis of equality.

If people in this country were used to the battles between political parties that are commonplace in other democratic countries then all this would be easier to swallow. But this is something we are not used to here and the fact that the parties are confronting each other with weapons at the ready, hurling differences of opinion at each other, far from winning new friends for democracy à l'allemande has brought its old opponents back into action.

Of course we can be glad that the NPD has gone from one election débâcle to the next, but the results of recent local elections have tended to hide strong undercurrents. Many people who would never dream of voting for a right-wing

extremist party are longing for a strong man. When they are asked what this strong man should do they are unable to say, but they hope that the strong man himself will know the answers.

Semi-conscious yearnings of this kind should not find any expression in elections in the 1970s.

But even today when unemployment is virtually non-existent in this country and for all the talk about a crisis the crisis is something that is on the horizon but has not yet taken place, there is an air of insecurity and a touch of anxiety about the future.

It would be quite amiss to view this in solely political terms. A number of changes in society which happen quite independently of whoever is in power in Bonn, but which are ascribed to the government of the day are taking place.

It is not possible to run the business of German politics with intelligence and reason alone in the present situation and whoever does not believe that should read the history of the first German republic.

On the left-wing there are people who think that reform or revolution could create not only a better world, but a perfect one. But this is only one side of the coin. The other side shows the hopes of the worthy middle-classes who expect salvation to come, with the end-product being a society in which all conflicts between vested interest groups are removed and society is totally free.

No party in a democracy is likely to set out to satisfy such Utopian ideals. In fact it should be everybody's aim to quell ideas of this kind especially the parties who are in power.

A people which constantly has the fine verbiage, but senseless prattle "something must be done" on its lips cannot be served by a government that is constantly cackling about unaided eggs and which forgets to sell its new-laid eggs at the right market price.

Fritz Richter  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung 29 May 1971)

## Superminister Karl Schiller wields his economies axe

Saving — that is the main topic of conversation in Bonn. Superminister for Economic Affairs and Finance Karl Schiller must now learn to wield the axe against grabbing ministerial departments which so shocked his colleague, Alex Möller, and caused him to quite so abruptly. Whether Schiller will succeed or not only time will tell.

Professor Schiller himself sees the tasks ahead in this light: firstly he must plan the 1971 budget in conformity with stability. Secondly he must devise a reasonable budget for 1972, and then rethink middle-term financial planning up to 1975. Thirdly there must be a noticeable reform of the tax system. Before this year is out the matter must be signed, sealed and delivered.

By there is now no prophetic gift involved in forecasts that increased taxes will come. Professor Schiller does not want to hurt those with small incomes, but "from the middle-income group upwards" the screw will be turned.

Just how vehemently the Superminister will act against those in the high income bracket is still uncertain. His party allies are still at work. A commission is investigating the tax situation and will have specific proposals to put forward by the time the extraordinary party political conference is called (in Bonn from 18 to 20 November).

There will be a bitter wrangle in the next few days about the demands for public expenditure in 1972 put forward by individual ministries. Of a total bill of 120 milliard Marks at least ten milliard will have to be expunged.

Following Alex Möller's departure from the Finance Ministry a gap of 63 milliard Marks has been opened up in middle-term financial planning.

New priorities must be set. It is essential that vital reforms should not be buried in the State cemetery for misdeeds. It has been mooted that saving should

## A backward glance at ministerial resignations

Only five times in the history of the Federal Republic, since 1949 that is, have Ministers resigned Cabinet posts. Once, of course, on 27 October 1966, all four Ministers belonging to the minor coalition partner, the Free Democrats, resigned at one go.

That meant the end of the Erhard government and Kurt Georg Kiesinger became Chancellor of the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

9 October 1950: Minister of the Interior Gustav Heinemann (at that time a Christian Democrat) resigned because Chancellor Konrad Adenauer offered the Western allies a military contribution without the knowledge of the Cabinet.

31 October 1962: Minister of Justice Stammberger, a Free Democrat, resigned because of the Spiegel Affair.

26 March 1965: Minister of Justice Bucher, at that time still a Free Democrat, resigned as he did not agree to lengthening the period envisaged under the Statute of Limitations for the prosecution of Nazi crimes.

27 October 1966: Finance Minister Rolf Dahlgren, Housing Minister Bucher, Minister for All-German Affairs Erich Mende and Minister of Economic Cooperation Walter Scheel all resigned because of differences of opinion over the Budget.

28 March 1968: Minister of the Interior Lohs, a Christian Democrat, left the Cabinet of the Grand Coalition after differences over proposed electoral reforms.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1971)

this ministry are a number of other authorities and the customs and excise service alone adds a 30,000-strong team to the ministry.

Karl Schiller employs six State secretaries, four permanent and two parliamentary, fourteen departmental heads and hundreds of advisers and other staff of an advisory capacity. He is head of a Federal Industrial concern with an annual turnover of fifteen milliard Marks and employing 150,000 people.

The current joke in Bonn is that Schiller, like Helmut Schmidt with his soldiers and Hans-Dietrich Genscher with his Border Guards has a private army, since he is head of the 30,000 customs and excise men, some of whom are armed.

However, Genscher remains the most important army officer: his Border Guards stand watch over Pöhl's Schönbach and check all people entering and leaving the Chancellery.

How powerful Karl Schiller will remain is a question not of the presence of the men with the balloons but of personal skills. Even his superministry fails to make him a deputy chancellor, and there are enough ministerial colleagues who will keep a jealous eye on the situation to see that this never occurs.

The guidelines of policy-making are decided by the head of the government and to prove the point Willy Brandt has shown his hand quite clearly in giving Professor Schiller responsibility for finances.

He can remove this responsibility if Schiller should fail. It seems that the Cabinet will go on working in its present fashion until 1973. If it should change, Willy Brandt is likely to be reminded of the remark he made half in jest during the minor crisis: "I have promised my Cabinet guaranteed full employment."

Klaus Jellinek  
(Welt der Arbeit, 4 June 1971)



## ■ PROFILE

## Weichmann's retirement marks the end of an era for Hamburg

In Hamburg a grand old man is leaving the political stage. Professor Herbert Weichmann, senior burgomaster of the Freie und Hansestadt (Free Hanseatic city) will give up his office on 9 June.

The departure of Professor Weichmann marks the end of an era for Hamburg, an era that will be remembered under the retiring burgomaster's name. For six years Professor Weichmann has steered the ship of State in the Hanseatic port and has developed a style of representation and government that bears his personal stamp and corresponded thoroughly to Hanseatic traditions.

The constitution of the Federal state made Weichmann's office a fairly weak one. He was the "premier" but also the "equal". But he built up his position in the government of the city state to that of a governing statesman. He regarded himself as the first man in the Federal state of Hamburg and always avoided sinking to the depths of party politics.

Social Democrats in Hamburg respected their burgomaster and with delightful irreverence called him "God the Father".

The retiring burgomaster was born in 1896, the son of a Prussian-Jewish academic family in Landsberg, Silesia. He studied jurisprudence and was a combatant in the First World War.

Politically speaking the key experience in Weichmann's life was the Kapp Putsch. At that time when reaction against the Republic first became voiced lawyer

Weichmann spontaneously decided to attach himself to the German workers' movement.

He worked as a government adviser in Prussian offices rising to the position of personal adviser to the Prussian Premier, Otto Braun.

In his student days and afterwards Professor Herbert Weichmann worked as a journalist and was on the staff of the renowned liberal paper, *Frankfurter Zeitung*. In 1933 he had to leave Germany. At first he went to France and later fled to the United States via Spain.

In 1948 Herbert Weichmann returned to the Federal Republic prompted to do so by the then burgomaster of Hamburg, Max Brauer. His first position was president of the Hamburg accounts department and later he became the Hanseatic city's Senator responsible for finance.

In 1965 Weichmann helped the Social Democrats out of a difficult situation. Family difficulties were enough to persuade the prudish Hanseatic brothers that the then burgomaster Paul Nevermann should be voted out of office and within 24 hours Herbert Weichmann found himself occupying the senior burgomaster's chair.

This was intended as a temporary solution to a problem. The solution lasted until 1971. Weichmann carried out his duties as burgomaster in the same way as he considers he had carried out every office he had ever held. He says: "As if I had been doing it all my life."

His six years as Hamburg's senior burgomaster were a success story. He set up a planning staff as an instrument for drafting concepts for the future, drew up a plan of development for Hamburg and its outlying districts, created the essentials for harbour precincts at the mouth of the Elbe with the accession of Neuwerk Island to the Hamburg city state, and had a decisive influence on the compromise that was reached on financial adjustment.

In the Senate this foxy administration man was feared. On numerous occasions he sharpened his pencil and looked through a few figures that had been presented to him by the Senate - occasionally he found that his colleagues' arithmetic was not too good!

Weichmann's successor, the present junior burgomaster, education senator Peter Schulz, who is also a lawyer is not inheriting a sinecure! This former solicitor and ex-Justice senator for Hamburg is a pragmatist through and through. He does not have the great dignity about him that enabled his predecessor to override all objections raised by his party. Peter Schulz takes care of the minor details.

Long discussions and a number of objections preceded his election to his new office. Many leading brothers in the Hamburg Social Democrat party fear that the new man who is only 41 years-old will start a lengthy "Schulz era" and thwart forever the dreams of the office of burgomaster for his colleagues in the Senate, Heinz Ruhnau and Helmuth Kern.

Whereas Heinz Ruhnau the Senator for Domestic Affairs cleverly kept in the background during the discussions about Weichmann's successor, the powerful Senator for Economic Affairs, Helmuth Kern plunged into the fray as a combatant. He was clearly shown to be second best to Peter Schulz.

The Economic Affairs Senator who is a



Herbert Weichmann  
(Photo: Archiv/Cosma)

keen publicity man intends to be second shot and hopes that his can obtain for himself the position of burgomaster. The Federal state's committee of the SPD has, in the meantime, nominated Helmuth Kern as its candidate for this office. The actual decision Kern's candidature - the election place in the Senate itself - will occur 4 June at a party political conference the Hamburg SPD. The party, who earlier times was generally speaking tent to follow the suggestions of its members, has gradually become more rebellious.

Now it has managed to pass a moment ensuring that whenever the

Continued on page 6

## ■ URBANISATION

## Munich congress underlines plight of our cities

Our cities are sick - and bankrupt. "Save our cities now" - the motto of the annual general assembly of the Cities Congress in Munich - summed up the malaise facing our cities in a penetrating cry for help.

The only reason the situation has not degenerated into social confrontation, threatening law and order in the cities, is that there are no alternatives. Cities everywhere are in the same unsolvable situation.

Rome, the Eternal City, is being suffocated by debt and traffic but still attracts a never-ending flow of migrants. Many people find living in Munich a torment but it still remains this country's "secret capital".

The invasion of commuters in the morning and their exodus in the late afternoon as they leave behind them the barren city streets proves better than a number of essays that city centres have become inhospitable.

Residential areas are not much better.

Continued from page 4

change in the Senate the candidate in the acting Federal chairman of the West German white-collar workers union. He had to submit to a gruelling interrogation from the party before being elected.

Should Helmuth Kern win the election - and no other candidate has yet appeared on the horizon - he will only be the junior burgomaster for a limited period. As soon as it was known Herbert Weichmann intended to stand down the FDP, the other coalition partner in Hamburg, claimed the office of junior burgomaster for itself, encouraged by a gentlemen's agreement during the coalition negotiations. A compromise was finally decided upon which is unorthodox to say the least. In the first half of the legislative period, which continues until early 1974, the SPD will provide the burgomaster, then the FDP will get its turn.

Dieter Stöcker  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 June 1971)

Humogenous social groups like farmers or students soon take to the streets when they feel that their specific interests are being threatened, especially as individual interests and the interests of the group can be reduced to a common denominator.

That is not the case with the inhabitants of a city. Brought up to place their own interests above anything else, cityfolk are little moved by the interests of the community, especially if they themselves own property and hope to speculate.

The cities, driven on by their empty coffers and the demands of their inhabitants, must act quickly, even if this is against the wishes of interest groups both small and powerful.

At its sixteenth annual general meeting in Munich the Cities Congress made a public appeal, stating that the standard of a civilisation and its social services are reflected in the state and position of its cities.

German cities have performed great feats in the past, especially in the last 25 years. But now cities are threatened by dangerous trends.

There is the daily traffic chaos that costs lives and health, nerves and time and demands senseless material wastage. There is the threatened extinction of city centres, paralysed and throttled by private transport.

There is the murk, haze and smog hanging over cities, there are polluted lakes and rivers and the intolerable effects of the noise of traffic.

There is the lack of healthy homes and urgently needed social amenities such as hospitals, schools and efficient services.

After the stress of a day's work commuters withdraw within their own four walls at night, shutting themselves off from all outside life. Isolation reigns supreme where there could be social communication.

But we still have to live with our cities as there are no practical alternatives. There is more money to earn there, there are more stimuli and better social and cultural amenities and there is a greater variety of jobs and educational opportunities than in the country.

The conglomeration of people, energy and capital has its drawbacks but it is indispensable for trade and social development.

The cities' main problem is that the growing demand for housing, social amenities and public services is accompanied by a decreasing amount of municipal capital.

As there is little prospect of the cities' share of tax receipts being drastically increased - the central government and the Federal states the other beneficiaries, are too strong politically for this to occur - the only solution is to distribute the available money differently.

Realising this, Munich authorities decided to carry out a land reform programme. Mayor Hans-Joachim Vogel calculated that fifty milliard Marks flowed into the coffers of property owners between 1960 and 1969 while only 42 milliard were spent on building council houses.

City politicians and the political parties have long since agreed that land reform is the cardinal factor in reviving our towns. One of the main reasons for the delay to the reform is the long time it takes for the public to become aware of a situation that needs reforming.

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## Pleas to save our cities

The development as such cannot be stopped. Stopping scientists from doing research and passing on their knowledge would serve humanity as little as stopping technologists from building, halting production or impeding consumption.

In many fields our society has made higher growth rates and technological advances as such a fetish of our era and even endangers humanity and nature for its sake.

Our economic system has set free powerful forces and contributed to freeing advanced industrial nations from material hardship. But it has developed one-sidedly. The social commitments and limits of the free market economy must be stressed more plainly.

If cities are really to be helped effectively, priority must be given to four main aspects:

It the cities do not act, the apparent indifference of people in city affairs could be transformed into an aggressive interest that would be of little benefit.

In Munich President Gustav Heinemann cited Article Fourteen of Basic Law: "Property carries responsibilities. Its use must also serve the common good."

This article can be applied to land as it is a commodity that cannot be manufactured and thus takes up a special position in the economy. Its value is determined not by its own nature but by outside conditions.

Its value is the sum total of its position within the community. When this principle is recognised, the link between land ownership and the resulting social obligation can be seen.

Many prominent people in our society have repeatedly drawn attention to this. In a famous radio broadcast Professor Leibholz, a judge at the Federal Constitutional Court, demanded a change of current property laws in view of obvious social grievances.

The two major parties have repeatedly stated that land ownership is linked with

## Hannoverer Allgemeine

a special social obligation. What exactly this means for the Social Democrats is shown by a law to old municipal building that will be discussed shortly in the Bundestag.

Though land reform will do a lot, it will not cure all ills. It has not yet been decided whether a city should cater more for pedestrians or motorists. It has not yet been decided what aspects should be borne in mind when a city is being redeveloped.

A city is always closely linked with the surrounding country side and town planning must always take the surroundings into consideration. But many of the surrounding communities dismiss this as "city imperialism."

Planning in city centres could founder on the self-interest of property-owners while planning for the city and its immediate environment could fail because of the opposition of neighbouring communities.

The malaise facing the cities is also a sign of their political weakness. The fact that they, unlike the Federal states, are not involved in legislation and have to negotiate for a share of tax receipts as weaknesses that are based in Basic Law.

The cities are therefore left with only the annual cry of alarm at their congress. But perhaps they are also left with the displeasure of townsfolk who, if not politically articulate, break out in neuroses or illnesses and flee the city streets.

Hans-Anton Papendieck  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 June 1971)

## President Heinemann appeals for land reforms

Opening the 16th annual general meeting of the Cities Congress in Munich on 26 May 1971, President Gustav Heinemann called upon the legislature to fulfil its constitutional obligation of land reform.

President Heinemann told the 1,200 delegates from 500 cities attending the two-day congress that land speculation was one of the sources of the malaise facing cities today. "If we do not master the problem, we shall come to a standstill," he warned.

The President was loudly applauded when he asked, "When shall we read plainly and clearly that Article Fourteen of Basic Law does not only guarantee the principle of ownership but also determines its limits?"

"When shall we read plainly and clearly from Article Fourteen of Basic Law that property carries with it an obligation and that its use must take into consideration the common good?"

"When will the legislature eventually carry out its obligations as for as land reform is concerned, not to mention any other field at the moment?"

The President added that these questions could also be directed to legal bodies. Legal bodies could not and should not take the place of the legislature and draw up general legal maxims from the principle of a welfare state.

But, he said, in isolated cases it could and should examine whether a property-owner's conduct was totally commensurate with the full content of Article Fourteen.

Heinemann wished great success to the four working groups dealing with the main problems of city politics such as redevelopment, transport, environment and finances.

Munich's Mayor Hans-Joachim Vogel, the officiating president of the Cities Congress, named five basic conditions to ensure sensible town planning and urban construction in future.

Town planning must be more intensive, he said, plans for further city development must be given more thought, town planning must be given a new image, there must be better methods of administration and control and there must also be closer regional cooperation.

Speaking of the rise of land prices, Vogel stressed the social obligations connected with ownership of property. He said that the Federal Republic should adopt the Stockholm model where a very large part of the city lay directly under the control of the city authorities and private people could only own property for their own use and for a certain time.

Housing Minister Lauritz Lauritzen stated that the government's urban reconstruction report of 1970 showed how well it understood the situation at local level.

He added that the government was following developments with care and attention and had pointed out ways to solve the problems involved.

This included the Bill for a law governing local building and redevelopment. The second and third readings of the Bill were brought forward to the week immediately following Whitman.

When passed, the law will be the first step towards ending the shortcomings of the current law concerning urban construction, Lauritzen said.

Lauritzen added however that this law and the proposed amendment to the Federal Building Law were not in themselves sufficient to combat land speculation and achieve the necessary mobility of land ownership.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 May 1971)

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## ■ THINGS SEEN

## Dürer - an artist caught between two eras



Albrecht Dürer's name, even in this the five-hundredth anniversary year of his birth, still means no more to many educated men than an example of old German exactness and Nordic coldness.

In an age when religious pictures of all kinds arouse widespread disinterest the life-work of the great Nuremberg artist is seen in a light that tends to exclude the Christian aspect or alternatively over-aestheticise it.

The famous *Betende Hände* (Hands in prayer), which has been abused for touristic purposes is not at all the kind of work that it has been made out to be for many years, namely an artistic spectacle testifying to a religious fervour. It is nothing more than an exemplary masterpiece of detailed anatomical portraiture.

It is quite a different story with regard to Dürer's alter-pieces in which the free language of form subjugates the ties of the commissioned works or in which the fantasy is completely liberated à l'italienne.

It is possible to track down the contradictions in Albrecht Dürer's 'hand-writing' by comparing two works executed at almost the same time, the *Paumgartner Altar* in Munich, dating from 1503 and the *Anbetung* (Adoration), dating from 1504 and now in the Uffizi Gallery.

Statuesque grouping of figures which marks out the former disciple of Wohlgemut is still underlined in the former work by hermetic figures on the side. But in the pictures executed one year later there is the fastidiously loose grouping of the kings, the vista on to the hills and the architectural ruins, an inflexible late-Gothic cliché transposed into Renaissance generosity.

These contradictions underline the fact that Dürer, unlike any other master of his age was the chronicler of two epochs. He was late on the scene for the Middle Ages

and in at their death with his petty-bourgeois parsimony and his worn-out pictorial clichés and the painter of a period of transition from the sacred spell to a more humanist era.

Dürer's doctrine of proportions, his nude drawings and paintings come into this category. They chronicle the liberation of the human body from the Nordic "Code of honour" and from the metallic Realism of their great old Flemish predecessors.

The Adam and Eve copperplate engravings dating from 1504 and the Prado gallery's painting of the same subject (1507) are glowing examples of this portrayal of mankind which is quite untypical of Nordic painting in its combination of proud geometry of figures and sensual carnal knowledge.

The famous Nuremberg artist had delivered his artistic credo at the early age of thirteen with his silverpoint engraving self-portrait. And this came before he had made any professional contact with his future métier.

This shows a self-awareness that has not been yoked to the strict discipline of time.

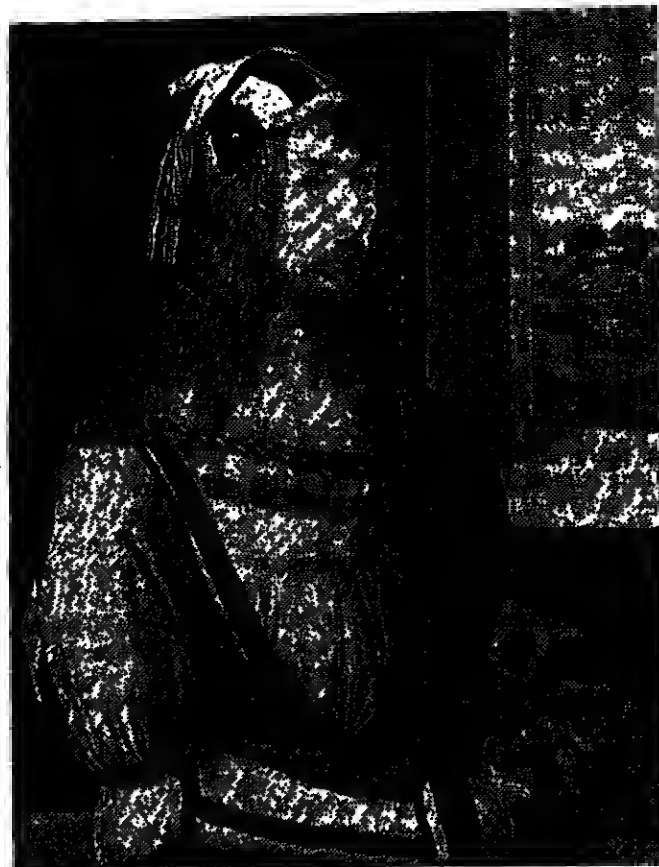
The almost pedantic experience of reality that is shown in water-colour landscapes and also some of the larger canvases is inherited from the days of apprenticeship as a goldsmith, which Dürer completed before his artistic training.

Here he met up with one of the contemporaries he most admired - Martin Schongauer, who also came from a family of goldsmiths and who had been made into one of the most significant pre-Dürer graphic artists by his apprenticeship.

Once again we see in these two artists the proof of the fact that an artistic 'handwriting' can be built up by the proud originality of an apprenticeship in one of the crafts.

Painting as "free art" is one of the least free of all professions even at times when, princes and the upper middle-classes are the patrons. It was a question of living with and from commissioned works for the artists.

The *Paumgartner Altar* is a prime example of this pious hybrid of condensed bourgeois



Dürer's self-portrait owned by the Prado, Madrid

(Photo: Katalog)

patronage. The two wings that frame the *Adoration* and on which the *Paumgartner* sons are depicted as St Eustace and St George are more important than the central picture.

They overwhelm the portrait of Mary which is petrified in ponderous architecture.

This is a clear example of how the wishes of patrons place a burden on the overall composition of the work and how the framework of pious modes of thought forces the spirit that is struggling to free itself back into the horizons of late-Gothic experience.

If Dürer's knowledge of human proportion were not specified in the figures of patrons this altar would have to be included among the many sacred works of this period despite its brilliant colouring.

It is probably not an exaggeration to count Dürer as the first of the great realist of Nordic painting who led men from the cool self-evident nature of concrete experience (inherited from Rogier van der Weyden) back to their own selves.

The greatest advance in Dürer's undistorted portraiture is the isolation of mankind in the oppressive late-Medieval superstructure of salvation and damnation to which he raised them and to have had a sense of man's being as a corporeal creature in all its beauty and hideousness, dignity, depravity and sensuality.

The unadorned charcoal drawing of Dürer's dying mother, the painting of masterbuilder Hieronymus and finally Dürer's last painting, the portrait of the adventurer Johann Kleeberger, dating from 1526, are the most competent witnesses of this experience of mankind.

Freeing of the individual in painting and drawing is accompanied by a lifelong dependence such as is symptomatic of the social condition of the artist at the threshold of a new era.

Again and again his modest amount of wealth is endangered. It is endangered by the attitudes of the Nuremberg city fathers, by the death of his patron Maximilian, and by the journeys to Venice and The Netherlands that are an essential part of his life.

Continued on page 7

Dürer's Adam and Eve, a copper engraving, done in 1504, belonging to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg

(Photo: Katalog)

## Albrecht Dürer - salesman and artist

Even five hundred years after his death Albrecht Dürer's stature and position during his life cannot be mistaken. He can be no dispiritingly overvalued importance - attested to by great contemporaries such as Michelangelo, Rafael, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Melancthon. This sometimes rather embarrassing Dürer hullabaloo does not detract from this fact.

There are few other creative artists that age that we know as well as Albrecht Dürer. Dürer kept a complete record of his work in letters, diaries, thesaurus and in a family chronicle.

The life of this artist around the clock from the Middle Ages to the modern has modern, highly relevant features from today's standpoint.

Dürer was the first artist to offer his work at low prices so that as many people as possible could acquire it. His work series (The Apocalypse, The Life of Christ and the minor woodcut *Passion*) all engravings made him known throughout Europe and spread his fame.

He was an excellent businessman not only sent his wife and maid to the Nuremberg and Frankfurt to offer works for sale, but he also drew up a price list for his prints and sent them Konrad Schwoizer on a business trip impressed upon him: "If he (the agent) should succeed in selling the prints at a high price, he should spare no effort and not let himself be hindered by gaining or careless actions."

His business sense also helped his advantage of a suitable opportunity. When all the world spoke of the misfortune of a pig in Alsace in the year of 1496, he quickly made an engraving of it hoping it would sell well.

Germany's most famous and popular artist was always conscious about his image. He spent a number of years working on his monogram which he was satisfied with its form. It bore a trade-mark whose misuse was not punished.

A decree published by the city of Nuremberg on 3 January 1512 stated: "The stranger who sells drawings in the town hall bearing an imitation of Albrecht Dürer's signature must be ordered to promise to remove these drawings on all the works."

Dürer also objected to copies of his works. After his *Great Passion* and *Marleneben* appeared in the town hall bearing an imitation of Albrecht Dürer's signature must be ordered to promise to remove these drawings on all the works.

Convinced that the quality of his work was unsurpassed, Dürer never failed to lecture other people of the fact. The Nuremberg alderman for the time Michael Behaim ordered a coat of arms from him, Dürer sent him the product along with a short note.

"Please leave it thus," he wrote, "if you would be able to improve on it I have made it diligently and true to the words of art. Those of you who understand it will confirm the fact."

In his last theoretical work on painting - it did not appear until his death on 6 April 1528 - he lectured fellow-artists.

"It is obvious," he said, "that artists are not unskilled with their hands and the use of colour although they previously lacked proportion, perspective and the like. It is therefore to be expected that they learn these too and combine skill and knowledge so that they will in time not have to admit the superiority of any other nation."

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 May 1971)

## ■ THE ARTS

## Albrecht Dürer's work comprehensively displayed at Nuremberg exhibition

All efforts to comprehend Albrecht Dürer outside of his work have been in vain. The large exhibition in Nuremberg's Germanisches Nationalmuseum opened on the 500th anniversary of the artist's birth provides the proof.

Dr Peter Strieder, the museum director, has been preparing for this exhibition for six years. There is a long series of showcases forcing visitors to concentrate on every painting and every graphic work. This intimacy and resulting demand for concentration does not fail to have an effect. Equally unique is the idea behind the exhibition.

Visitors are gradually introduced to the master. The first room contains documents. Then the artist himself can be met. The youthful and correspondingly self-confident Dürer greets the visitor in his self-portrait of 1493 lent by the Louvre.

To the right hangs the 1498 self-portrait lent by the Prado. Then comes the Munich self-portrait - the well-known work painted in 1500 showing Dürer with his long flowing locks. The signed self-portrait from Erlangen can be seen in the same room.

There are also portraits of his father, his wife Agnes and his "Portrait of a

## Wood-carver receives first Dürer award

Wood-carver H.A.P. Grieshaber, 61, has been awarded the Albrecht Dürer prize by the city of Nuremberg. The prize worth 20,000 Marks has been awarded by the city to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of its most famous son.

It will be awarded every five years from now. The dedication to the prize states that it can be awarded to personalities whose work has a universal character such as that of Dürer's life work.

As a mark of gratitude to Nuremberg H.A.P. Grieshaber has presented the city with an intaglio, intended as the "foundational stone" for the collection of modern works in the new museum.

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 May 1971)

Continued from page 6  
One indication of the reduced straits of a world-famous artist in the Germany of the sixteenth century is the way the 50-year-old Dürer packed his bags and set out for Flanders to ask for a guarantee of a life-long annual allowance of a mere 100 guilders from the emperor Charles V. It is also significant to note the pressure on the artist's pocket of the more modest graphic projects such as the woodcuts for emperor Maximilian's triumphal carriage. And finally it is significant to note the self-help that became essential when Dürer's own wife sold her husband's work at the Frankfurt fair in 1505.

Exactly this contradictory dual aspect of a fight for existence and a nobility of spirit characterises Albrecht Dürer's life work a paradoxical splendour.

The sign of relief: "Here I am my own master, at home I am a scrounger" that Dürer heaved in Venice is reflected throughout all his self-portraits.

Christian Herchenröder  
(Handelsblatt, 21 May 1971)

Dürer's *Paumgartner Altar* loaned to Nuremberg from Munich's Pinakothek

The highlight of the celebrations in Nuremberg commemorating the 500th anniversary of Albrecht Dürer's birth was the opening of the large Dürer exhibition in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum by President Gustav Heinemann. The exhibition, the largest ever devoted to the works of Dürer, is taking place in the gallery in the upper storey of the old section of the museum. Preparations for the exhibition had been going on for two years. Twenty-four specialists contributed their expertise under the direction of Peter Strieder, the museum director. 110 museums and private collections from fourteen countries lent works. Two hundred drawings are on show along with all Dürer's graphic work. The catalogue lists some 730 items. The exhibition is divided into 26 sections, each with a room of its own. It will remain open until 1 August.

Young Man" painted in 1500 in Munich for which Dürer's brother Hans modelled.

It is not long before the visitor is confronted with the rest of Dürer's work. At first the organisers wanted to show everything that the young artist experienced.

Nuremberg is well-represented with wood-carvings and portraits of inhabitants. The early wood-carvings on the Upper Rhine which gave Dürer a great stimulus during his apprenticeship years are also documented in the work of Schongauer and the engravings of Hausbuchmeister.

Dürer's earliest woodcut - *Hieronymus* (1492) - can be seen here along with the earliest book engravings - *Narrenschiff* and *Der Ritter von Turn*.

The next room deals with his two journeys to Italy. The Netherlands follow with works by Massys and Provost and engravings by Lucas von Leyden lent by the Munich Pinakothek.

Even then we do not obtain a glimpse of all Dürer's work. First we have to see the world that fashioned Dürer's ideas. The plenty of the Late Middle Ages is shown by prayer books and contemporary writings, the Catholic heaven in Dürer's works such as the excellent woodcut *Gnadenstuhl*.

The Free Imperial City of Nuremberg is also part of the artist's environment. That is why the next room contains the Imperial jewel chest. But the chest is empty - the jewels are in Vienna.

But Dürer's two portraits of the Kaiser are to be seen there, resplendent in their newly-restored colour, along with old views of Nuremberg.

Than the visitor is subjected to the whole range and variety of Dürer's work - though only gradually so that the artist's development can be experienced.

It is exciting to see how Dürer dealt with the ancient world that had become a routine part of Renaissance painting in Italy but was little known north of the Alps.

Four drawings of Mantegna can be viewed along with two preparatory sketches. He made many nude studies but most have been lost in the course of time.

In this way Dürer discovered nature that was only hinted at in works of the Late Middle Ages and never given full realistic expression.

Dürer however painted water-colours that give an extremely precise reproduction of natural phenomena and have something of an Impressionist air about them.

His animal studies belong to this category and a wall is devoted to them; His famous study of the hare is not on show here but the visitor can see his studies of a crab, a stag's head, a lion and a hippopotamus.

Dürer's sharp eye for nature also influenced and transformed the depiction of Christian themes. This is shown in the next room with the excellent *Paumgartner Altar*, the *Passion* from Karlsruhe and the *Madonna with a Carnation*.

Dürer's graphic works follow, looking as if they had only just been printed. The *Apocalypse* borrowed from Munich is given a whole wall. The *Major Passion* is represented by the best examples.

A copper engraving of the *Passion* has been lent by a private collector and

Amsterdam provided an edition of the *Minor Passion* just as Dürer printed it with four pictures on every page.

The works done for Kaiser Maximilian take up a number of rooms. The *Ehrenpforte* is made into one monumental work by piecing together the individual sheets. The Imperial Sanctuaries too attracts visitors' admiration. The Kaiser's prayer book with illustrations by Dürer and Altdorfer can also be seen.

The pictures of everyday life perhaps do not start to impress until it is realised that Dürer took just as much trouble in depicting fighting mercenaries, denouncing peasants or the miscarriage of a eight-legged sow.

Dürer's theoretical works can be seen in the original. Items are exhibited showing that Dürer's ideas influenced Nuremberg goldsmiths and glass painters.

In the last room there hang the excellent portraits that show that Dürer's experiences and theories opened up new paths for art, leading to a new way of thinking and a new image of Man.

Jens Timpe

(Köln Nachrichten, 24 May 1971)

## 79 Dürer drawings go on the market

Nuremberg's Dürer anniversary year has come up with a minor sensation in the world of art dealing: Edelmann the art and rare-book dealer in conjunction with the Zürich-based art dealers August Laube is offering 79 original drawings by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) for sale. Their total value is one million Marks.

It is the first time in ages that such a large number of works by Dürer has come on the market at one end the same time. The collection which will be on show at a special exhibition took three years to gather together.

Among the works offered for sale are some decided rarities such as *Sankt Christophorus mit Zurückgewandtem Kopfe* (Saint Christopher with head turned) with an asking price of 15,000 Marks, and the *Entführung der heiligen Katharina* (Beholding of Saint Katharine) valued at 45,000 Marks as well as great series like *Apokalypse* (sixteen sketches) valued at 65,000 Marks and *Die grosse Passion* (The great passion) twelve sketches priced at 42,000 Marks.

The two most expensive works are *Ritter, Tod und Teufel* (Knight, Death and the Devil) which dates from 1513 and is valued at 80,000 Marks, and *Die Melancholie* (1514) priced at 75,000 Marks. (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 May 1971)





## EDUCATION

### Children's road safety knowledge examined

Frankfurter Rundschau

It only takes a fraction of a second. Car tyres squeal, bystanders scream with horror, headlight glass shatters and a child lies dead or injured on the road.

A child is killed on the roads of this country every three hours. Every five minutes one is injured. In a large number of cases it is impossible to say how such a thing could have been possible. The child must have been able to see the car coming so why did it race into the road?

It is now thought that the large number of road accidents involving children cannot be explained alone by inadequate road safety training or increasing traffic density.

There must obviously be another reason and this could be that children have no understanding of the dangers facing them on the road.

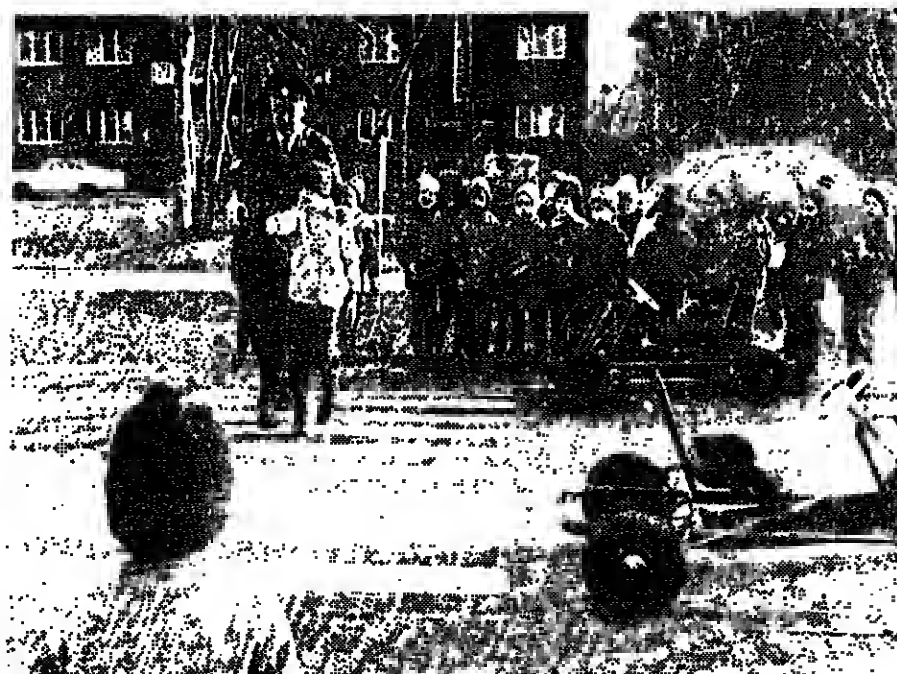
Uniroyal financed a series of experiments that revealed that even city children who are used to traffic have little idea of the dangers they are exposed to on the streets.

The series of experiments was based on the fact that an adult's pulse beat accelerates when he recognises any traffic danger, however negligible. Taking a bend too quickly or even the sight of crashed cars at the side of the road will suffice.

The experiment started by assuming that a child's pulse beat would be affected in the same way. But measurements taken proved negative, showing that children do not understand the dangers facing them on the road.

Fourteen boys and ten girls aged between two and twelve were observed during the experiments. All were healthy and normally developed and all were from car-owning families.

Before beginning the large number of experimental drives, the children had three electrodes attached to their chest. The electrodes were linked with a teleme- tre and the results were picked up in a



Police officer teaching children the rules of the road

(Photo: Archiv)

second car that followed at a certain distance and were recorded by an electrocardiogram, an oscilloscope and a tape recorder.

The results recorded during the experimental drives have now been analysed in a seventy-page report which revealed the one simple fact that nothing seems to alter a child's pulse rate during a car journey. Changes of direction, acceleration, braking and other traffic situations were unable to produce any change.

This was shown particularly by one extreme case. The car had to apply its brakes so sharply to avoid hitting a careless pedestrian that the child was thrown from his seat and hit the back of the seat in front of him.

But even then the measuring instruments in the car following registered no noticeable reaction in the pulse rate.

Under these circumstances it would be easy to suspect that the measuring instruments were faulty or that a child's pulse frequency, unlike an adult's, is no indication of his emotional state.

But each of these theories can easily be disproved by the results of other experiments. The pulse beat increased rapidly for instance when the child's mother left the car without it. Even ten-year-olds who betrayed no outward sign of unrest reacted to this situation with an accelerated pulse beat.

On the other hand it only took the pleasure felt by the child in receiving an

icecream during the journey to set off the pulse beat reaction that was not registered at other stages of the journey, even in critical situations.

A protracted journey confirmed the results gained in city traffic. The child is unable to relate himself to what happens on the road. None of the events causing an accelerated pulse beat in adults was recognised by the children as a danger.

Neither excessive speed, the sight of an accident, careless driving or a hurry cutting in led to any change in the children's pulse rate.

Theodor Hellbrügge, the scientist Uniroyal commissioned to carry out the experiments, concludes from all this that everything that happens on the road strains a child's comprehension.

Summing up his report, he states, "The logical conclusion from those results is that it is precisely this aspect that is the greatest danger for children on the roads."

"The child never recognises the danger. Increased caution when confronted with traffic is therefore alien to it. Road safety training for children must aim at depicting traffic dangers in a way that can be understood by children so that they can see the danger."

In other words, we do not need more road safety instruction but a different type. Making this clear was the aim of the research project.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 May 1971)

### Children's essays illuminate attitude to parents

If I were my father, I would first have to go to work. When I came home, I would lie down on the sofa for a while. Then I would keep order in the house as the children have to be slapped from time to time."

"If I were my mother" and "If I were my father" were the subject of 1,760 essays written by nine to seventeen-year-olds attending various types of school.

All the boys accept the beatings mentioned by the twelve-year-old in his essay. They do not plan to act differently if their future sons come home with a bad report or are cheeky.

Few of them wrote that they would not slap their children. One stated, "I would not hit my children as there are a thousand other ways of punishing them."

Walter Vogels has analysed the essays and published the results in a book entitled *Wenn ich mein Vater wäre* (If I were my father) issued by Fredebeul und Koenen of Essen.

Vogels states, "This educational principle of not striking a child still seems to be alien in this country. A person must gain the impression that we are a race of child-beaters for whom striking children is so routine that the children themselves accept it and plan to treat their children in the same incorrect way."

Brother and sister conflicts often lead to criticism of parents. A child will often think that it is being treated differently to other children in the family.

One boy reported, "I was once given a box on the ears when I knocked over a cup of coffee. If I had been my father, I would not have hit my child as anyone can upset a cup of coffee."

"My father did not punish my brother when he once threw a stone at my foot. I would have punished him as he did it on purpose and my father knew this."

Television provides a fruitful source for such conflicts. None of the younger children in a family is willing to understand why he or she cannot see as much

television and the same programmes as elder brothers and sisters.

This results in anger and argument. Usually the older children too have to stop watching so as to provide no temptation for the younger ones. But often the younger children as well will spend too long a period in front of the screen.

Two factors are evident in a boy's relation to his father. The boy rarely has any idea of what his father does during the day and would like him to devote all his leisure time to his son.

Children only know that their father goes to work in the morning and comes back again at night. That means that the father is not seen by his children when he is at his best. Only an architect was able to tell his son something about what he did for a living.

The father does not figure very prominently in bringing up children. Most children only see their father when he is tired after a hard day's work and can do little more than watch television or spend the time drinking.

The children complain that, in their father's position, they would not spend

Continued on page 3

## School grading subject to esoteric criteria

A Professor of Education in Kiel thirty writers a number of children's essays and asked them to mark them and add their comments. Was it a trap for genuine eels for help? Teachers, by no means agreed on the criteria to be used when marking an essay. Cases when the same essay by the same pupil got the highest and lowest grade are common.

Professor Gottfried Schäfer of Kiel has long been concerned with the grading of children's essays. A just mark, he explains, that he approached the writers from experimental curiosity. But the writers did not take the demands made on them very great — or did not reply.

Erich Kästner stated that he had no idea of the grading of children's essays. On the other hand, Dr. Johann Siegmund Hahn, first printed in 1738 and subsequently advocated by thought that his talent was being used. On the brink of despair the 28-year-old Knapp decided to try out a water cure, as it was called, himself. At Dillingen Marie Luise Kaschnitz and Siegfried Theological Academy he subjected him- von Vegesack refused to mark the essays — about fifteen in number — as his garden and ice-cold baths in the Danube. have taken up too much of their time. Knapp did not look the consumptive commenting on the general feeling type. He was strong and sturdy in being given too much work, Schäfer helped him to master was nonetheless

not only. He was not beat TB, he also recommended taking the waters to his fellow-students. The experience gained in the process of overcoming his own illness was to have a decisive effect on the entire subsequent life of Sebastian Knapp.

A hundred and fifty years ago Sebastian Knapp, a native of Gräfenberg, a small town in the north of Bavaria, was born the son of a weaver at the family's Stefansried home.

Continued from page 8

all their time sitting in a bar drinking with their friends. Many of the children's essays were just an appeal for their fathers to have more time for them. There is no doubt that boys love their father and respect him. They stress that he is "my hero", "a good chap" or "O.K."

Opposition does not begin until children are older than those age ranges that wrote the essays and, strictly speaking, no longer belong to the younger generation. Vogels suggests that if there is no opposition to a father during puberty the child will later make up for this with opposition to society.

Girls need a mother, or at least so they claim. That is one of the reasons they do not want their mothers to go out to work. They attribute all family problems to the fact that the mother goes out to work.

A mother should always be there for her daughter. The girl will want to sever some of the ties and go her own way but as soon as she has a question or gets into difficulty will want to ask her mother's advice.

The older a child becomes, the more uneasy there is in what he or she writes. There is talk of father who is always drunk and of family quarrels about trifling matters such as overdone meat or too little advice.

One eighteen-year-old looks upon his father as the man who sired him and model for him. A sixteen-year-old girl whose mother died after the death of her father laments with an unusual edifying. "My greatest wish would be to have a child so that I could leave home for good."

Gerhard Weise (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 May 1971)

Continued on page 3

## Sebastian Knapp's water cures have brought relief to millions

The weaving trade was already suffering as a cottage industry from the inroads made by mechanical looms. Young Sebastian had to work at the loom in the cellar from the age of eleven and the damp and dust soon went to his lungs, tuberculosis in those days being the poor man's disease par excellence.

His father was rated intelligent and hard-working but always had difficulty in earning the family enough to live on. His mother was strict and doubtless embittered about the joyless nature of her own life.

The son felt a sense of vocation from an early age. He always wanted to become a priest. Years of toil, trouble and a serious bout of consumption were to pass before he finally achieved his aim.

It was not until 1852 that Peter von Richarz, Bishop of Augsburg ordained Knapp at a ceremony in Augsburg cathedral.

Having stood the test of so many physical and psychic setbacks Father Knapp proved to be an energetic, good-natured priest with a knowledge of the world, first as chaplain at Biberach Wallfahrtskirche, then as acting priest of Boos, near Memmingen, then as third town chaplain at St. George's, Augsburg.

Knapp was a born doctor of the soul but experience had taught him that physical well-being is also important. His vocation included the urge to help sick members of his congregation, which he did in both Biberach and Boos, which was in the middle of a cholera epidemic.

The success he achieved with water treatment, particularly in cholera cases, strengthened his conviction that cold showers, compresses and the like can be of use with many complaints. Yet already in Biberach the local doctor and chemist instigated proceedings against him as a quack.

He began his life's work proper in May 1855 when he was appointed father confessor to the Dominican nuns at Würshofen near Tübingen.

In days gone by the monastery had been affiliated to the Sisters of St. Catherine in Augsburg. Consecrated in 1723, it was closed in 1803 when Church and State parted company in Bavaria.

In 1843 the monastery was reopened on condition that it run a convent school and a home for orphans, waifs and strays. Father Knapp set to his new educational duties with a will.

From 1858 on the convent had to pay its way and Father Knapp ran the agricultural side, including cattle, sheep, pigs, fruit and bees. He proved a first-rate agricultural economist.

He also started writing, editing a catechism for schools and penning brochures on agricultural topics. Above all, he continued to help the sick who came to him for help.

Father Knapp never had any intention of placing obstacles in the way of orthodox medicine, which was progressing by leaps and bounds with the introduction of scientific methods. He was only too grateful when trained doctors showed interest in his methods and included them among the possible methods of treatment.

Unlike many of his supporters Knapp never for a moment claimed to have discovered a cure-all but he gained an increasing reputation, first in Würshofen and later, after his appointment as vicar of the town in 1881, further and further afield. Würshofen began to develop into what is now a world-famous spa.

Father Knapp's time was divided between caring for spiritual and physical

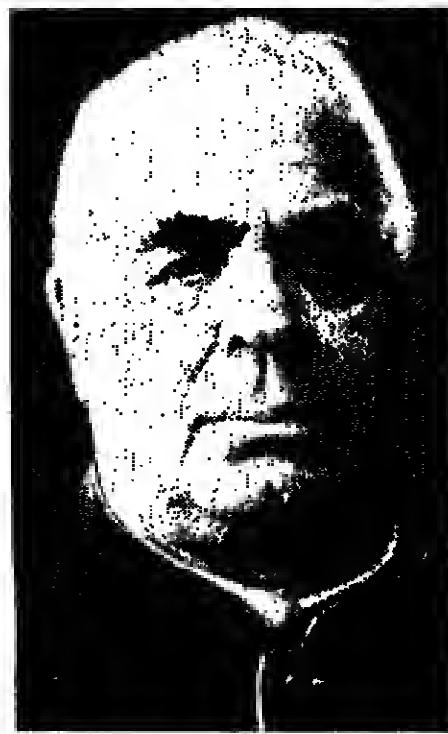
well-being. He charged well-to-do patients a modest fee and treated poor folk free of charge.

His two books, *My Water Cure* and *How To Live*, gained him an international reputation. High-ranking Churchmen, kings and princes pilgrimaged to Würshofen and the Pope made Father Knapp a Papal chamberlain.

Regardless of criticism by the medical profession Knapp cures have become part of the stock in trade of treatment for a large number of illnesses.

But Father Knapp himself, who died in Würshofen aged 76, suffered the same fate as Priessnitz of Gräfenberg, who died in 1851. A number of his followers attached more importance to his method of treatment than the originator himself.

(Die Welt, 15 May 1971)



Sebastian Knapp

(Photo: dpa)

## Doctors discuss problems of learning at Lindau medical congress

Lindau, a charming medieval town built out into Lake Constance, has been the venue of many a conference but never before has as many specialists as the 1,300-odd doctors and psychologists gathered together for the Twenty-First Psychotherapy Week been in town at one and the same time.

The theme they were there to discuss was that of "Learning and Difficulties in Learning," a topic of equal interest to all parents of schoolchildren and students.

"Learning," Professor Reinhard Lempp, head of youth psychiatry and neurology at Tübingen and one of the principal speakers at the conference, noted, "cannot, of course, be limited to school age."

"It takes the new-born child a matter of days to distinguish its environment with the aid of light and touch sensations," he continued. Professor Lempp was not prepared to pass an opinion as to whether a baby can process external stimuli at birth or even in its mother's womb.

Tests involving noises beamed at unborn children would nonetheless at least

seem to indicate that this may be possible. The speed and efficacy with which a child comes to grips with the world depends to a very large extent on his or her relationship with the mother. This is something psychotherapists have known for some time, the particular example cited by Professor Lempp being that of a boy with a pronounced lisp.

Close questioning of the mother revealed that she had invariably chatted with her other children while wearing her youngest. Later she spent mealtimes phoning her friends.

The upshot was that her child got it all wrong from the start. The child concluded that talking had nothing to do with him and what people said did not affect him either. This, then, was the cause of its serious speech handicap.

Professor Lempp and other specialists also made an attempt at the congress to dissuade their listeners from invariably laying the blame at the mother's door.

A survey of 124 school failures in Tübingen revealed, surprisingly enough,

that only one in three of the children suffered from learning handicaps attributable to emotional factors of this kind.

An equal number suffered not only from disturbed family relations but also from almost imperceptible mental trouble and the remaining third suffered exclusively from mental trouble.

Professor Lempp feels that these "partial disturbances in performance due to organic handicaps" deserve more attention. The children in question are completely normal but for one factor: either they cannot cope with what they have seen or they cannot process what they have heard.

The ensuing shortcomings are manifold and the parents usually notice only the symptoms and lament that the child will not listen, does not follow, pays no attention, just does not want to.

In the United States, where the number of children handicapped in this way has increased to a particularly large extent in recent years, the correct solution, has it is felt, now been found.

Dr Gertrud L. Wyatt of Wellesley told the congress about her pre-school clinic. Parents first fill in a questionnaire indicating what activities typical for the age-group their child already masters and what he cannot yet do.

Should a shortcoming be particularly striking, a five-year-old who cannot yet tell the difference between the various colours, for instance, mother and child are requested to come along for an interview. The child is then subjected to tests.

If it proves to be suffering from a mental handicap of the kind indicated skilled therapists train it in the sector in question. In other respects it continues as before, going to school or kindergarten so as not to jeopardise its social development by being separated from others of its age-group.

Work of this kind is only in its beginnings in this country. Over the last five years psychologists have developed a number of tests designed to reveal mental trouble of this kind and they are already used at a number of clinics specialising in child neuroses.

As for psychotherapists, the interest shown in the conference would seem to indicate that they too will soon be working at a solution to the problem.

Florian Rauberg/PAM

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 May 1971)



## ■ THE ECONOMY

## Road to economic normalisation will be long, according to Karl Klasen

In the economics department of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance hard times for speculation on foreign exchange are being forecast. These "hard times" should last for a year or even longer.

In fact it is not only for the speculators that the times have become hard but also for those who stand on the sidelines and try to forecast how the floating dollar — or the dollar-manipulated-by-the-Bundesbank in Frankfurt — will develop as an international currency.

Everybody is racking his brains to try to predict how swiftly this country's economy will approach the threshold of recession and how comfortably it will weather the newly fixed parity after the official return to the old dollar-Mark exchange rate of DM 3.66 to the \$.

The "agreement" reached by Superminister Karl Schiller and Bundesbank President Karl Klasen after days of really bitter verbal tussles does not reveal much of the matters on which they have reached agreement.

All that we can be certain of is that: The Bundesbank will offer for sale at a cheap rate part of its dollar reserves that have now reached a value of forty thousand million Marks and thereby keep the value of this guiding currency low in comparison to the Mark for some time to come.

The government has confirmed the point on which it left us in the dark previously, namely that after the period of floating the Mark would return to its old parity.

But there are already doubts about the second of these two pointers. They are being underlined by employers' associations in branches such as the retail trade and credit financing, by Bonn ministry officials and Karl Klasen's deputy, Otmir Emminger, as well as the Director of the Bundesbank, Heinrich Immler.

They all doubt whether the European



Economic Community Council of Ministers has really set its sights on sticking to the old parities after the end of the period of flexible, floating exchange rates.

They laid far more stress on the point that this had been made dependent on the "conditions obtaining at the time" on 9 May and the "probable developments" that were forecast at the same time.

On the very day that Professor Schiller and the Bundesbank President reached their agreement Otmir Emminger pointed out that a revaluation of the Mark could not be "ruled out".

Therefore there is a complete uncertainty surrounding all the factors that could have a decisive effect on inflation and stability in the next few months.

Nobody knows how low the dollar exchange rate will sink. Reports that DM 3.45 to the \$ would be the lowest point for the Bundesbank are putting pressure on the bank of issue in Frankfurt by their very existence and the fact that they could give a guide by which speculators could orientate their activities. They are forcing the Bundesbank to accept an even more powerful swing of the pendulum or to provoke one itself.

It is uncertain whether the far-reaching ban on interest payments on accounts held by foreign residents outside the Federal Republic is really leading to the withdrawal of money from these accounts, which the government and the Bundesbank had hoped, or whether this money will be channelled along the still permitted route on to the Federal Republic capital market. It could certainly help avoid some bottlenecks on this country's capital market, but then it would remain in this country.

It is still unclear what covering fire the EEC partner countries will decide on when they meet on 1 July — if they actually get around to deciding anything.

Whether interest rates in the United States of America will go up to such a level that they attract wayward dollars back home is another unknown quantity.

What policy the Federal Republic will decide on with regard to interest rates is a complete mystery at the moment.

By lowering Bank Rate and relieving the demands of minimum reserves the Bundesbank can mark time, of course.

Even if it wanted to use these classic weapons from its armoury to create more liquid cash it would not succeed. With its sale of foreign exchange on the open market it is forcing money abroad and pushing up interest rates.

In addition the difference between interest levels in the Federal Republic and other countries is no longer as marked as it was a few weeks since.

The costs of steady exchange rates that German borrowers have to pay to their foreign creditors apart from interest are higher at a time of flexible exchange rates and make the business gradually unfavourable.

Furthermore foreign loans do not lead to an increase in the amount of money circulating in the Federal Republic as they do at a time when exchange rates are pegged. They are no longer exchanged by the Bundesbank for money from the central bank, but have to be paid for from Marks that are already circulating.

Since last year the amount of money in the Federal Republic has increased by nine per cent, excluding short-term (less than six-month) time deposits and by 22 per cent if these monies are included.

A policy that tries to cut down the increase to eight, seven or six per cent can scarcely take care of lower interest rates. Nor should it do so if the intended

pressure on company profits and both sides of industry is to have a chance of success.

New problems arise in connection with this, however, and they make the economic situation seem misplaced.

Already Bundesbank President Klasen is warning that the time when German companies have to fight their interests and obligations because of debts they have incurred abroad is not far off.

He said: "There has never been a transaction of this magnitude in the history of finance in Germany, no experience of such matters."

Herr Klasen and others will be able to avoid gaining experience of this kind, however. Continually rising rates and the impossibility for German credit institutes of giving without first-class security cost them a bankruptcy-court case.

Interest rates are likely to be a major factor as regards rising costs at which wage and salary levels off a little and these two may well vie for top place in the industrialists' nightmares. They are suggestions for tackling important matters before the period of flexible exchange rates is over.

The end of this period, with the continuing at its old parity and the revaluation of the Mark would be the Federal Republic industrial boost, while prices remained high.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance said: "The alternatives to the bureaucratic and impenetrable state in all conceivable spheres have been objections that the government and the Bundesbank must walk the narrow path between inflation and deflation. The path could be so narrow that it is impossible to achieve the aim of stabilisation without an actual economic crisis."

And even Karl Klasen has a place of sure knowledge to offer against the uncertainties of the economic situation: "It is certain that the road back to normalisation for us is all striving will be long."

With the additional restrictions imposed on government spending the net has got into yet another ditch. Less funds must of necessity mean reforms.

For the proposed reflation of Marks that have been put out of circulation he does so, however, he must bring wages and prices at least under control if not to a complete standstill. In this respect too there is a risk that the trial of strength can be ended successfully. The continued negotiations bode evil.

What is more Schiller's guide eight per cent for wage increases applies and this no longer fits the economic landscape.

Finally we have only to look at some horrifying examples. In Britain as well as in the United States wages have continued to rise during the recession as during the Schiller's "Floating Model" in this country at a time when the economy is going downwards.

It blunts, at the worst time, a long-term period of flexible exchange rates, furthermore, the certainty in our exporting. Quite apart from this, Bonn is rough-handling its partners in the European Economic Community if it returns to the previous fixed parity.

A reasonable period of time — this has already been discussed in the past.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 June 1971)

## PUBLIC AFFAIRS

## Foundations and shrewd tax-dodging

Foundations just conservative or reactionary clubs for dignitaries only, and to uphold the capitalist system and to avoid death duties — or are private organisations which set out to present the State with a number of that they consider progressive?

There is at the moment a heated discussion going on in public about these two extremes of criticism of foundations and the end of it does not seem to be in sight.

An evening of information attended by parliamentarians from Bonn and the Federal states and experts on the system of foundations, convened by the Foundation Association for German Science (of which the German Research Community is a member) in Wiesbaden threw some light on the subject and produced some concrete suggestions for tackling important matters on which progress was made.

For instance were the specific duties of foundations, their relationship to the State and the question of control by society. But after this conference the conflict between these two vastly different standpoints remains.

For all those who view foundations as a unique opportunity to provide social alternatives to the bureaucratic and impenetrable state in all conceivable spheres have been objections that the government and the Bundesbank must walk the narrow path between inflation and deflation. The path could be so narrow that it is impossible to achieve the aim of stabilisation without an actual economic crisis.

But they are moving along a very narrow path. This was shown clearly in the discussion at a lecture given by Karl Heinz Sohn, State Secretary at the Ministry for Economic Cooperation.

He stated that it was a convincing answer to the challenge of Communism to renounce large inheritances of unproductive money and to place such money in a Stiftung where it would provide a liberal alternative to State-controlled capitalism and at the same time help to solve some of the burning problems of the future.

It is practically essential to create approval on both sides to gain any idea of what the matter is all about. Herr Sohn's adversary, Professor Kurt H.

Bledenkopf said this in much more conciliatory terms. The legal constitution of a privileged foundation was not, he said, an instrument for running an industrial concern in a particularly favourable form — for this there are quite enough methods provided by commercial law — and it is simply unworthy to use foundations to deal with problems such as concentration of the press, accumulation of capital wealth in private hands and government investments.

If "private wealth with a privileging function is to be transformed into actual public wealth with the function of helping society," as the Free Democrat parliamentary party suggests, quite precise programmes must be developed as progressive alternatives to State and local government projects.

Whereas Herr Sohn proposes the whole gamut of so-called community works ranging from education to town and country planning as well as foreign relations, Herr Bledenkopf is more realistic and sees cultural themes in the spheres of education and science as being the duties Stiftungen should carry out.

They should sniff out shortcomings in the "science market" and keep "the plurality of scientific questioning" an open book. In the course of the discussion it quickly became obvious where the border lies.

Representatives of foundations were unable to give a satisfactory answer to questions such as whether it was the duty of a foundation to give a helping hand to a scientist with Marxist ideas who is unable to get his dues at a university because of his leftist notions.

In the major German scientific foundations remarkable steps are being taken towards internal reform. Internal reforms must go hand in hand with a reform of legislation governing foundations and taxation.

There has been a growing interest in setting up foundations in the Federal Republic in the past few years. Each year seventy to eighty new foundations have begun their work. A total of four thousand foundations with a total wealth of about three milliard Marks spend about six hundred million Marks each year on the most diverse works for the general good.

But only when the many repressive bureaucratic impediments to free activity beneficial to society in general are removed will foundations be set up to carry out programmes that point the way to the future rather than just as tax dodges.

Georg Hartmut Altenmüller  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 May 1971)

## Scientific foundations are expanding

busying itself with experimental and clinical viral studies.

Among other projects that receive financial aid are the Institute for Biological Cybernetics in Tübingen and medical research at a university level for teacher-training purposes.

The range of projects in which the Association now has an interest stretches from equipping university administrations with teleprinters and the setting up of information dissemination and documentation centres for German as a foreign language (for foreign-language teachers and the like).

New projects are in the planning stage, such as a team for testing and researching natural talents, the setting up of modern buildings for research groups and international congresses of highly qualified scientists, which would be different from and better organised than the present-day unproductive conferences.

For some years the archives for scientific statistics within the Founder's Association

## Foundations in the Federal Republic of Germany

There are around 650 foundations in the Federal Republic. North Rhine-Westphalia has the most, about 150, and the Saar the fewest — just two. Most of these foundations are not yet ten years old.

Wemding in Bavaria claims the oldest German foundation, the Hospital founded in 917.

The Volkswagen Foundation: This was set up ten years ago by the Bonn government and the Federal state of Lower Saxony with headquarters in Hannover. Its assets are not far short of 1,100 million Marks. In addition to this it can claim dividends on a 36% holding of Volkswagen shares. Its business manager is Secretary-General Gotthard Gombke.

The VW Stiftung Volkswagenwerk backs a whole series of research programmes.

Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Foundation: Founded in January 1968 to extend the scope of the Krupp family concern. Its assets consist of all the shares in Friedrich Krupp GmbH in Essen, which have a nominal value of five hundred million Marks. Its business manager is Professor Karl-Heinz Sohn, the State Secretary at the Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation.

Robert Bosch Foundation: Celebrating its fiftieth birthday this year. It was set up by Robert Bosch and specialises in medical matters. Its assets are of a nominal value of 259 million Marks.

Carl Zeiss Foundation: This foundation set up by the prominent ophthalmologist Dr Ernst Abbe in 1889 has two headquarters, in Heidenheim and Oberkochen. Its assets are approximately 200 million Marks. The declared aim of this Foundation is: "To permit employees of the Carl Zeiss and Jena Glaswerk to develop their personalities to the full with legal protection and financial as well as personal independence." In addition research work in the natural sciences is backed.

Fritz Thyssen Foundation: Its headquarters are in Cologne. The Foundation was started in 1959 by Dr Amélie Thyssen and Countess Anita de Zichy-Thyssen. Its assets consist of shares of the August Thyssen foundries with a nominal value of 100 million Marks. The main aim of the Foundation's work is helping young scientists.

Max Grundig Foundation: This was set up a year ago by the industrialist Max Grundig from Fürth in order "to secure

the continuance of the Grundig group after his death". Its assets consist of almost all participation quotas of the Grundig group. Their exact value has not been made public but is somewhere between 100 and 200 million Marks.

The Freiherr vom Stein Foundation: This Foundation with capital assets of 75 million Marks promotes artistic, scientific and humane works all over Europe and works for environmental and monument protection. Headquarters are in Hamburg.

The Mahle Foundation: This organisation based in Stuttgart concentrates on health matters and the welfare of the young. Its capital is about sixty million Marks.

The Ziegler Fund: This Fund serves to promote the work of the Max Planck Institute for Organic Chemistry in Mülheim on the Ruhr. Its capital assets increase each year and stand at approximately forty million Marks at the moment.

Der Allgemeine Hannoversche Klosterfonds: This Foundation was set up in 1818 with capital that became available following the dissolution of the princely courts of the bishops of Osnabrück and Hildesheim. Its assets are of a nominal value of close on forty million Marks. The aim of the Foundation is to administer the real estates of the committee of canons and deacons in Hannover.

Deutsches Elektronen-Synchrotron (DESY): Set up in 1959 to construct and operate a high-output accelerator. Its capital amounts to thirty million Marks.

The Poschl Foundation: This Foundation with a capital of thirty million has made it its duty to preserve Lübbeck's character and public places.

The Max Planck Institute for Organic Chemistry Research: This Foundation was set up in 1939 by the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Promotion of the Sciences, with headquarters in Berlin. Its headquarters are in Mülheim. The 29-million-Mark Foundation supports research work into problems concerning organic chemistry.

Werner Rehnert Foundation for Research into Anthropolinguistics: Its capital of 36 million Marks is used to finance a study centre for interdisciplinary research.

Borstel Research Institute: This carries out research in the spheres of experimental biology and medicine. Capital: approximately 25 million Marks.

Heidelberg University Orthopaedic Clinic and Polyclinic: Set up in 1918 by several Heidelberg industrial concerns, this foundation has assets of around 25 million Marks.

Max Planck Society for the Promotion of the Sciences: With about 23 million Marks capital this Foundation backs research institutes in the most diverse spheres.

Official figures published by many foundations for their capital are generally understated. They often show only the nominal value of shares or participation in companies. For instance the actual assets of the Allgemeine Hannoversche Klosterfonds is presumably ten times as great as officially published.

Moreover declared capital says very little about the actual scope of a foundation. Many statistics are compiled from a foundation's expenditure.

On these figures the top ten are: The Max Planck Society, the VW Foundation, Deutsches Elektronen-Synchrotron, the Fraunhofer Society, Prussian Artistic Properties, the Founders' Association for German Science, the Carl Duisberg Society, the Carl Zeiss Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and finally the Heidelberg University Orthopaedic Clinic and Polyclinic.

(Händlerblatt, 14 May 1971)

## Government walks the economic tightrope

turning off the tap and stopping the flow of foreign exchange.

One aim in this direction that can be achieved is the neutralisation of these influxes which are tending to have an adverse effect on price levels in the Federal Republic via the international inflationary tendencies. The only tactics that seem to promise any success is in our opinion — and this paper is not saying this for the first time — to bring about flexibility in exchange rates, however this may be designed.

But it is known that Karl Schiller wants to do more. He wants to have the exchange rate simply as an instrument for controlling the industrial sector of the economy.

In the first phase what is nothing less than a marked effect of revaluation — it is at present about five per cent — is intended to bring about a cooling off of the economy and get rid of the speculative hot dollars that have been flooding into this country.

Then when prices, industrial production and wages and salaries have been calmed down and a new plunge into recession seems to be looming up we are to begin the march back to the old Mark parity, which would be tantamount to a devaluation of the Mark.

But there are too many unknown factors in this equation; it is an experiment with an end result that cannot be foreseen. Furthermore if Professor Schiller pursues this course he would be risking a new recession, something for which he attacked the Erhard government when his party was in opposition, saying that it was a "calculated march into crisis".

Now, today, Schiller is defending his action with the argument that the government and the bank of issue have to create such economic, currency and credit policies that those who are involved on the market act in a way that is conducive and not detrimental to stability.

Nevertheless it is true that if the government had stepped in at the right time and quelled the boom wages and prices would not have swelled until a downright inflation had been caused.

What could once have been solved by means of the Economic Stabilisation Act must now be achieved by some clever tightrope-walking, and it is by no means certain whether this balancing act will meet with success or not.

If Professor Schiller's stabilisation experiment is a success then he will risk causing a temporary recession and unemployment.

Before any policies affecting the industrial sector of the economy can be decided upon the present state of the overall economy as well as likely developments must be taken into consideration.

If unfavourable developments should ensue then it is a question of finding the cause of them so that the disease can be treated with the right medicaments and in the right places.

These are platitudes, but right from the outset the Brandt/Scheel government failed to take proper account of them; and this has damaged the government no less than everyone else, as we came to realise a long time since.

It is simply too tedious to trot out all the mistakes and sins of omission in connection with this all over again and retrace the steps that have led to the present crisis.

It should be stressed that it is not the flood of dollars into this country for speculative purposes that is to blame for the crisis, but simply the favourable climate that has been created by aspects of rising prices. Rocking prices tend to have "Made in Germany" stamped over most of the stages.

The central problem to be tackled in connection with the present efforts to bring about stabilisation must therefore quite clearly be a stemming of the tide of inflation in this country.

The new Economic Affairs cum Finance Minister, Karl Schiller, has been able to see this fact, as well. He, too, knows that little will be gained simply by



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# Weapon collecting is a good investment

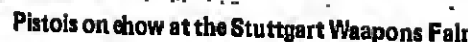
On the other hand used weapons made in 1860 or afterwarde are very marketable and are thus a batter capital investment.

Of course these are combined. A collector collect all muzzle-loading calibre made by European Rare items that do main collection can

el. Serial numbers are generally kept as low as possible with new productions. Speculation often results from the belief that production will soon be stopped.

guished from the original even by experts. This shows that capital investment in weapons demands a great deal of expertise. Laymen will need the advice of a good gunsmith. Not everything that is old and looks good is in fact genuine or suitable for capital investment.

**Garman uniform at the Weapons Fair**  
(Photos: Jörg-Peter Maucher)



Hunting weapons, rifles, especially the three and four-barrelled rifles that are no

guished from the original even by experts. This shows that capital investment in weapons demands a great deal of expertise. Laymen will need the advice of a good gunsmith. Not everything that is old and looks good is in fact genuine or suitable for capital investment.

**Garman uniform at the Weapons Fair**  
(Photos: Jörg-Peter Maucher)

**Hunting season** SPORT  
**opens with a bang**

Anyone who wants to hunt and fish, do not need Aunt Emily's terms along with complicated assistance. No matter what place he ends up taking about breeding and preservation of wild game, nature conservation, birds, dogs, hunting customs and Emily, so as not to be included among the

The only people allowed to hunt are the tenants of hunting grounds, guests of the owners of hunting permits and members of hunting clubs.

Hunting also has an economic value. More than 66 million francs are spent annually on hunting equipment and permits.

SA 3 005  
AI 10

Colombia  
Congo (Brazzaville)

These estimates are based on figures for recent years. Small game in particular.

## Gliding is a popular sport but costs are prohibitive



Reichmann does not fly his own gilder. It is a club machine. Mind you, there can hardly be a manufacturer in the business who would not gladly provide him with one. A world champion is good for business.

They are the thoroughbred synthetic birds but transform a popular sport into an

Fred Wainowitz, competitive grading secretary of the Federal Republic Aero Club, sounds a warning note. "Aircraft bought a couple of years ago for 28,000 Markes and the best on the market at the

Yet both can be beaten. This country takes some beating for first-rate glider pilots flying first-rate machines.

**K. Morgenstern**  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)  
Air Deutschland, 26 Nov. 1971

## Favourites come first at gliding championships

Regency	Cl. 15.—	Sudan	PT 3.—
u	8. 3.50	Syria	\$ 8 0.5
Nominees	F. 10. 0.50	Tyrol	2 1/2 0.5

SA \$ 0.05	Colombia	col. \$ 1.-	Peru	NT & F	Indonesia	Rp. 15.-	Malawi	11 d	Paraguay	C. 15.-	Sudan	PT 5.-
AI 10.-	Congo (Brazzaville)		France	FF 80	Iran	100	Malaysia	M. 0.40	Paru	R. 3.80	Syria	& 8 0.80
OA 0.60	Congo (Kinshasa)	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Guinea	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Iraq	60 lls	Mali	FM 80	Philippines	F. Phil 0.60	Tanzania	EAs 0.20
Rec. 1.-			Oman	11 d	Israel	100	Mexico	P 1.80	Poland	C. 0.60	Thailand	R 3.-
\$ m 4.10			Czechoslovakia	DM 1.-	Italy	1 L & 0.40	Morocco	DM -63	Portugal	Gac. -	Trinidad and Tobago	BWI 0.20
			Germany	cd 1.12	Nepal	1 Lir. 80	Mozambique	R. 1.-	Rhodesia	11 d		
	Cuba Rica	C. 0.15	Greece	Dr 1.-	North Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Nepal	Mohur 1.-	Ruanda	F. Kw 12.50	Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.-
	Cyprus	R 2.80	Costa Rica	Cr 1.-	Paraguay	11 d	Netherlands	fl. 0.60	Romania	1 Lir. 0.80	Turkey	T 1.10
	Creditobolshevik	Kcs 6.60	Cuba	Q 0.15	Japan	Yan 50	Netherlands	Antilles	Sweden	skt 0.80	Uganda	E 0.20
	Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Guatemala	BWI 0.20	Jordan	50 lls	Switzerland	G. sat 0.25	Switzerland	FB 0.50	Uganda	E 0.20
	Denmark	RD 0.15	Guinea	F.O. 30.-	Kenya	BAs 0.25	New Zealand	0.80	U.S.A.	11 d	Uruguay	PT 20.-
	D.R. Congo	RD 0.15	Honduras (Br.)	\$ BH 0.20	Laos	50 lls	Nicaragua	C. 0.80	U.S.A.	11 d	Uruguay	PT 20.-
	Ecuador	C 2.50	Honduras	1. 0.25	Libania	P 40.-	Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.-	U.S.A.	11 d	Uruguay	PT 20.-
	El Salvador	C 2.50	Hong Kong	HK\$ 0.70	Libania	Lib 0.15	Nigeria	11 d	South Africa	Rand 0.10	USA	& 0.20
	Ethiopia	8th. 11 d	Hongary	11 d	Lybia	11 d	Norway	Nkr 0.00	USSR	11 d	USA	& 0.20
	Finland	11 d	India	Rs 0.60	Luxembourg	11 d	Pakistan	R. 0.60	Venezuela	11 d	Yugoslavia	01s. 11 d
	France	11 d			Madagascar	FM 30.-	Panama	C. 0.15	Spain	Pta 8.-	Zambia	11 d